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GIVEN BY

Miss Cotlin.

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REPLY

TO

CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST

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THE

American and Foreign

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

&c., &c., &c.

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BY LEWIS TAPPAN,

OF NEW YORK, U. S.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

BY JOHN SCÖLE.

LONDON:

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1852.

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ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

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Aug. '99.

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

W. L. GAY

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INTRODUCTION.

THE following statement, drawn up by Mr. LEWIS TAPPAN, of New York, in reply to certain misrepresentations which appeared a few months since in the columns of the *Bristol Examiner*, was put into my hands in November last, on the eve of my departure from the United States for England, to be inserted in that paper; but finding, on my arrival home, that the *Examiner* had ceased to appear, I have judged it to be my duty to send it to the press, in its present form, for the use of all parties who take an interest in the questions so truthfully and ably discussed by that gentleman.

Knowing how extremely difficult it is to separate any action of mine, and any responsibility I might thereby personally incur, from that of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in consequence of the relation which I sustain towards it, and the determination of its Committee not to notice the groundless attacks made upon it, I have carefully refrained from replying to the gross misrepresentations, and I may add calumnies, which have been circulated against the Society and myself by certain parties, in this country and the United States, for the part we were supposed to have taken against the self-styled American Slavery Society, of which Mr. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, of Boston, is the acknowledged head. I shall abstain still; but this I may be permitted to remark, that whilst I have felt it to be my duty to cease all connection with the American Anti-Slavery Society, under its present direction and management, for what appeared to me to be good and valid reasons, I have never written a line, prepared a resolution, or delivered a speech against it; or publicly impeached the character or the motives of its supporters. Occupying the position which I do, I have, when inquiries have been specifically made of me, given explanations of the grounds on which I felt it to be impossible for me to unite with them in promoting the Anti-Slavery cause. At the same time, I have never failed, to act with courtesy and attention toward all of that party who may, for any purpose whatsoever, have called upon me; or to transmit to the

Society itself such official documents as might be of value to an accurate understanding of the position of the Anti-Slavery cause on this side of the Atlantic. What, however, I have stated privately of the reasons which had induced me to separate from Mr. GARRISON and his party, I have no objection to state publicly, and to leave it with those who are competent to judge whether or not I have been justified in the course which I have felt it to be my duty to pursue.

First:—I would observe, that the American Anti-Slavery Society, as at present constituted, differs, in several essential particulars, from the original Society, whose name it, nevertheless, bears. That Society, among other things, provided, both in its declaration of sentiments and its constitution, for a wise and vigorous political, as well as moral, action, for the removal of slavery from the United States. In its declaration of sentiments, signed at Philadelphia in 1833, by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, as well as other leaders of the Anti-Slavery movement, it is said, “We maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the Free States to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the constitution of the United States.” In its constitution it was provided that “the Society will endeavour, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave trade, and to abolish Slavery in all parts of our common country which come under its control, especially in the district of Columbia; and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any state that may be hereafter admitted to the Union.” The same sentiments are embodied in an address of the Executive Committee to the public. From the period of the formation of the Society down to the time of its disruption in 1839-40, the particulars of which will be found narrated in Mr. TAPPAN’S statement, political action was steadily kept in view, and acted upon with earnestness, on all occasions; and, notwithstanding the hostility of Congress, the Society finally established its right to be heard in both houses of the Legislature, on the great question of Slavery. Now, Mr. GARRISON’S party, calling itself the American Anti-Slavery Society, reverses the declaration of sentiments and the original constitutional provision of the Society; and, having discovered some new mode of interpreting the constitution of the United States, or rather, having arrived at the conclusion that all government, no matter what its form, or however modified, is a usurpation upon natural rights, repudiates all political action, and under the influence of this new light, Mr. GARRISON is reported to have said, in substance, on a public occasion, “If my single vote would emancipate all the slaves in the United States to-morrow, I would not

give that vote." Such being the understood views of Mr. GARRISON and his party, it was impossible that the great body of Abolitionists in this country, who had finally brought about the extinction of Slavery in the British colonies by political, as well as moral action, could continue their connection with men holding such sentiments, and giving them a practical direction. Supposing Mr. GARRISON'S views to be correct, Slavery, as it appears to me, can never be removed, except, indeed, it be by violence, nor even be restrained from spreading itself over every portion of the territorial possessions of the United States south of Mason and Dixon's line. The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the true successor of the original institution, accepted in all its integrity, the declaration of sentiments and the constitution, as originally settled; and has always made them the basis of its operations. To this Association, therefore, I gave my adhesion at its formation, and every year's experience has convinced me of the wisdom of the choice. Other points of departure from the constitutional provisions of the Society, by Mr. GARRISON and his party, might be enumerated, but this one alone, we presume, will be deemed sufficient to justify the course which, with a multitude of other old and tried friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, I have taken.

Secondly :—I would remark that Mr. GARRISON'S Society not only differs from the original institution in principle, but in the spirit in which its proceedings are carried on. Those who were the leading members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and conducted its proceedings during its first and best years, were men who determined to carry on its operations in a Christian spirit. They declared that "they owed it to the oppressed, to their fellow-citizens who held slaves, to their country, to posterity, and to God, to do all in their power, lawfully to bring about the extinction of Slavery;" and they solemnly agreed, "with a prayerful reliance on the Divine aid," to form themselves into a Society for that purpose; and, "with entire confidence in the overruling justice of God," they planted themselves "upon the Declaration of Independence, and the truths of Divine revelation, as upon an everlasting rock." They sought not the destruction, but "the purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of Slavery," by means wisely adapted to that end. But, such certainly has not been the spirit in which the American Anti-Slavery Society, under its present direction, has acted. It has attacked the churches with so much bitterness and hostility, as to leave it to be universally inferred that, whilst its ostensible design was the overthrow of Slavery, its real object was the destruction of all that was sacred in the institutions of Christianity itself. No one can read the calm and dignified, though

severe, because just, rebukes of sections of the church in the United States, which characterized the proceedings of the old Society, previous to its disruption, with the intemperate harangues of the new and the wholesale denunciations of all who do not choose to move in their circle, or be influenced by their views, or adopt their modes of proceeding, without being struck by the mighty difference, and, perceiving that the spirit which animates them, generally, is alien from that of the Gospel. My conviction is that, even supposing the motives which really actuated the party, as a whole, were good, the course which they have pursued has irritated and inflamed the public mind to such a degree, as to render it a task of difficulty to place the Anti-Slavery question in its true light before masses of the people, who otherwise would be prepared to listen to its claims, and to give it their support. Happily, however, Mr. GARRISON'S party, though containing many men of undoubted talent and ability, is small, and becoming less and less influential, whilst the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in the United States, connected with the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—the Liberty Party, the Free Soil Party, the Christian Anti-Slavery Association, and other minor and local organizations, are large in number, and growing in strength and influence from day to day, and by means of conventions and the press, their operations are conducted over a large portion of the Union. I would further add, I am of opinion that, were it not for the aid which Mr. GARRISON'S party obtains from this country, it would be extremely difficult for it to keep its agencies in active operation. Mr. GARRISON and his friends are very sensible of this fact, and hence the earnest efforts they have made, and are yet making, to induce the British public to believe that they only are the “true Abolitionists,” the sole body existing in the United States for promoting the Abolition of Slavery.

Thirdly:—Another circumstance to which I would call attention, and which fully justifies, in my opinion, those who have kept aloof from co-operation with the American Anti-Slavery Society under its present management and control, is the objectionable agency which it employs. Believing the Anti-Slavery cause to be essentially Christian, those who have hitherto had its direction in this country, have employed agencies in harmony with it, for promoting the great object they had in view; and it appears upon the face of the official documents issued by the American Anti-Slavery Society, previously to its disruption, that its founders and supporters acted upon the same principle. In other words, they, as well as the leaders of the Anti-Slavery cause in this country felt that as the object they had in view was Christian, the spirit in which its proceedings were conducted

should be Christian, and that the means adopted to promote it should be Christian. Now, though I would heartily join, in promoting the overthrow of Slavery, with any person, irrespective of his religious opinions, yet, if Mr. GARRISON and those who act with him, choose to call into active service men who repudiate the Scriptures as a Divine revelation, who are opposed to all church organizations, who deny the sanctity of the Christian Sabbath, and who, in various ways, seem to take delight in outraging the feelings and practices of Christian people, and who make use of their Anti-Slavery newspapers for circulating corresponding sentiments—certainly, so long as I can find in the United States, men whose philanthropy has its root in, and derives its nourishment from, Christian principles, and whose general spirit and modes of action are in accordance therewith, I must be permitted to give them the preference. I have no wish to narrow the Anti-Slavery platform beyond the absolute necessities of the case; but I cannot consent that that platform shall, either directly or indirectly, be used for the promulgation of opinions and sentiments which, with Christian men in general, I hold in the utmost abhorrence; and whose manifest tendency is to withdraw from the Anti-Slavery cause, the higher motives and appeals to duty, as well as to inflict, in my judgment, serious injuries on society at large.

To those who know Mr. LEWIS TAPPAN, the writer of the following statement, and can appreciate his long and disinterested services and sacrifices, in the cause of suffering and oppressed humanity, it is unnecessary that I should say one word in the way of commendation. To those who know him not, it may be sufficient to say, that a more active, intelligent, and self-denying friend of the slave does not exist. To the munificent pecuniary support which he has given to the Anti-Slavery cause, has been added years of untiring, though unostentatious personal labours; and it is but doing him justice to say, that about three years ago, he voluntarily surrendered a lucrative business that he might devote the remainder of his life to the promotion of the Abolition of Slavery, and other kindred and Christian objects.

With these general remarks, I now commend to the attention of the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause Mr. TAPPAN'S statement, which I have no doubt will be read with interest.

JOHN SCOBLE.

London, January, 1852.

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To the Editor of the *Bristol Examiner*.

ON returning recently from a journey to Ohio, &c. of upwards of 1,500 miles, undertaken chiefly to promote the interests of the Anti-Slavery cause, I have received from different sources in England, copies of your Paper of August 23rd and 30th, September 6th, 13th, and 27th, and urgent requests that an answer should be made to the allegations of Mr. RICHARD D. WEBB and Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON, against the society of which I am corresponding secretary. A letter from a friend near Bristol, informs me, also, that Mrs. CHAPMAN has published the most reckless charges against the society, and me in particular, as being implicated "in gross pecuniary fraud and dishonesty," as well as "treachery to the Anti-Slavery cause," referring, as my correspondent supposes, to the old and absurd story about the alleged fraudulent transfer of the *New York Emancipator*. And since my return from Ohio, the *Liberator*, of August 1st, containing Mr. GARRISON'S attack against the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, has been seen by me for the first time.

As a general rule, I have declined for many years making any public reply to accusations brought against the Society, or myself, believing that while a good character is to be valued, it is hardly worth while to be careful about one's reputation; character being what we are, and reputation being what people say we are. At the same time I have abstained, as far as possible, from statements hurtful to those professedly labouring in the same cause, being unwilling to censure them publicly even for what was palpably wrong, and having Anti-Slavery work sufficient to employ my whole time. Deference to the opinions of others alone, prompts me now to depart from the above general rule so far as to present to your readers, and to British abolitionists, who may have read the attacks alluded to, a reply to the apparently concerted calumnies of Messrs. WEBB, THOMPSON, GARRISON, and CHAPMAN.

ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

It is stated in your paper of August 30th, that the American Anti-Slavery Society was founded by Mr. GARRISON. This is a mistake.

The credit of founding the Society is due, more than to any other person, to the late EVAN LEWIS of Philadelphia, whose correspondence and personal exertions brought about the Meeting of the Convention that formed the Society in 1833. It has also been frequently stated, but erroneously, that Mr. GARRISON originated the Anti-Slavery struggle in this country. This, also is an error. Mr. GARRISON has published, that in the autumn of 1829, he associated himself with BENJAMIN LUNDY, to assist in the management of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, which he, Mr. LUNDY, had conducted for a period of ten years in the midst of slavery, with a fearlessness, fidelity, and zeal, that must ever place that remarkable man in the first rank of the benefactors of mankind. Mr. GARRISON is entitled to the gratitude of the friends of liberty for his early and zealous services in the cause, but he did not originate the Anti-Slavery enterprise, nor found the American Anti-Slavery Society.

PROCEEDINGS OF MR. GARRISON AND HIS PARTY IN 1840.

In 1840, seven years after the formation of the Society, a successful attempt was made by Mr. GARRISON, and his adherents in Massachusetts, to obtain the control of the National Society, located in New York. They contrived, by bringing to the Annual Meeting an unusually large number of partizans, both men and women, from two or three localities, to outvote the members of the Society, assembled from various parts of the country. Those opposed to Mr. GARRISON and his party, instead of retaliating, and inviting to the meeting a large number of persons of both sexes in New York and the vicinity, and thus obtaining a majority of votes, as they might easily have done, concluded after deliberate consideration, and in view of the erroneous opinions and bad spirit manifested by the usurping party, that it would be best to withdraw from the meeting and form a new society to carry out the original principles of the Anti-Slavery Association. Notice was accordingly given, and the most influential part of the men in attendance on the Annual Meeting, three to four hundred in number, retired, met in convention, and formed the AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

COURSE PURSUED BY THE ORIGINAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY: AND WHY?

In anticipation of the course of proceedings, on the part of the friends of Mr. GARRISON, so well calculated to break up the organization of the friends of freedom, the Executive Committee, previous to

the Annual Meeting, had assigned to two of their number, in the capacity of Trustees, all the property of the Society, consisting of books, pamphlets, stereotype plates, &c., with instructions to pay the debts of the Society, from the proceeds, and hold the balance, if any, for whom it might concern. The Committee had previously transferred the *Emancipator* to the New York Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society, who agreed to conduct the paper on the principles upon which it had been established. The reasons for making the assignment and transfer were these. The Society was not an incorporated body, and of course, the members of the Committee were individually responsible for the debts of the Society. The Committee, therefore, for their own security, assigned the property to those in whom they confided to devote the proceeds to the payment of the debts. The *Emancipator* had been established by the Committee, without any special directions from the Society, and although it had been carried on with the Society's funds until they were exhausted, the members of the Committee were responsible for debts that might be contracted in continuing it. Besides, there was a difference of opinion in the Committee about the propriety of continuing the paper. Under these circumstances, the Committee deemed it right and proper to transfer it to the Young Men's Society, and thus relieve themselves from all pecuniary and other responsibility respecting it.

It is said that the assignment and transfer implied an improper want of confidence in those who, it was probable, might succeed the original Committee? What confidence, it may be asked, could be placed in persons who were known to be making preparations to take possession of the affairs of the Society in such an unwarrantable manner? In a paper called the *Non-resistant*, then edited by Mr. EDMUND QUINCY and Mrs. CHAPMAN, was an article, a little previous to the Annual Meeting, predicting that proceedings similar to those which actually took place at that meeting would occur; and it was significantly asked, by the editors, who in the case of the appointment of a new committee, would pay the debts they had contracted? Mr. GARRISON's particular friends thus intimated that the new Executive Committee, whoever they might be, could not probably pay the debts of the Society, for which the members of the original Committee were legally responsible. Who after this, will presume to say that a full justification was not given for the prudent and judicious steps taken in anticipation of the result, to guard against disgrace to the National Society, and heavy loss to those who had, hitherto, conducted its affairs with devoted zeal and integrity?

OFFER MADE BY TRUSTEES OF THE PROPERTY TO TRANSFER THE
SAME TO THE NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE DECLINED.

After the new Committee, which had been elected by Mr. GARRISON'S party, had been organized, the trustees appointed by previous the Committee addressed a letter to their successors, proposing to put all the property (except the *Emancipator*, which was not supposed to have any pecuniary value) into their hands, *provided they would give security that the debts should be paid.* THIS PROPOSITION WAS DECLINED.

DEBTS OF THE SOCIETY PAID BY THE ORIGINAL EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE.

The Trustees therefore proceeded to sell the property on the best terms, but at considerable loss, and found that the proceeds were insufficient to pay the debts by about \$3,400. (£680. 19s.) which was paid by the three or four members of the original Committee, none of whom belonged to Mr. GARRISON'S party. For the course thus taken the original Committee, especially two or three of the members, have been grossly slandered for years, by Mr. GARRISON'S party; and Mrs. CHAPMAN, it appears, has recently repeated the stale and absurd charges in England. ARTHUR TAPPAN, the first President of the American Anti-Slavery Society, sanctioned all the proceedings of the Committee, of which Mr. GARRISON and his party have made such unjust complaint, and is one of the company of "robbers" and "felons," who paid out of their own pockets £680. sterling, after they had ceased all connection with the Society, rather than see its credit injured, or its creditors wronged. He and his associates would not, as they were desired to do, put the property of the Society into the hands of those who had so improperly been foisted into office, and trust, under the circumstances, to their integrity and capacity, to pay debts for which they were not legally responsible. They chose to use the property in their possession to liquidate the debts and even to pay the balance against the Society themselves, rather than to surrender the property without security that it would be used to extinguish the claims on the Committee, to those whose subsequent conduct has shown that they were undeserving of their confidence. If this be "robbery" or "felony," Mr. GARRISON and his party must establish the charge to the satisfaction of business men, or those who persist in the charge must submit to the imputation of being base calumniators. The parties accused, however, are happy to know, that a large number of the most intelligent and upright, among Mr. GARRISON'S party, disapprove of the

slander, and disbelieve the allegations. A few, and a few only, maliciously continue the accusations, and it is upon such aliment they subsist.

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON'S M.P., AND MR. R. D. WEBB'S STATEMENTS
EXAMINED.

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON, in his speech at Bristol, September 4, undertook to say, that there was no such society or organization in the United States as the AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,—a statement he afterwards qualified, in his reply to Mr. JOSEPH STURGE, by saying there was no “*bonâ-fide* organization performing the functions of a living and vital association, and employing any efficient instrumentality for the destruction of American Slavery.” And on another occasion, at a meeting at the Hall of Commerce, London, he declared that the Society was a “nonentity.” He also intimated that the Executive Committee were men of straw, and said, in his peculiar style, “I will furnish you with an analysis of that Committee; I will tell you who the gentlemen are, and where they reside; and will give your readers an insight into the constitution of the executive board. He, in a similar strain of declamation, said, “it is a ‘fraud,’ and a ‘wicked one,’ to endeavour to enlist the sympathy, the confidence, and the support of the British public in behalf of a mere name.” In fact, to use his words on another occasion, he “spoke in language the most scathing I (he) could find.”

Mr. THOMPSON echoing the language of Mr. GARRISON, in his *Liberator* of August 1st, asserts that the American and Foreign Society is “the offspring of baffled priestcraft and vanquished sectarianism;” that “it holds in the whole country but one meeting in the course of the year, and that too as a matter of form, adroitly making use of the anniversary season of May, to collect an audience together;” that “it keeps not a single lecturing agent in the field;” that “it is without an official organ;” that it has no auxiliary associations: that “its receipts and expenditure are too insignificant to be laid before the public eye,” and *mirabile dictu* “its very existence and entire management are concentrated in one man, who lost long ago the respect and confidence of the true abolitionists of the country.

Mr. RICHARD D. WEBB, also, styles the Society “a handful of bigoted exclusive ‘sectarians;’ that it consists of LEWIS TAPPAN, and a few of his satellites; that the *National Era* was not established by him or by the Society of which he is *factotum*,” and that this assumption of Mr. TAPPAN’S is what Carlyle would call a sham.

In reply to these indictments, it may suffice to say,—the Society has had from its beginning an efficient Executive Committee, who

have held stated monthly meetings ; the Committee has never been sectarian, and is at present composed of three Presbyterians, one Episcopalian, one Wesleyan Methodist, one Friend, two Baptists, and ten Congregationalists ; for years it published an organ called the *Reporter*, a paper similar in size to the British *Reporter*, but owing to the decease of the Editor, the late Rev. A. A. PHELPS, and the establishment of the *National Era*, at the City of Washington, by the Executive Committee, the *Reporter* was discontinued ; the Society has annually held a public anniversary, during the week and at the place where the other great benevolent societies of the country hold their anniversaries ; the audiences have been large, have been attended by the reporters of the city press, and the proceedings have been published in the daily newspapers, and circulated throughout the country. The Society has employed agents in the free and slave states,—in California, New Mexico, and in Canada ; it has some years published its receipts and expenditure ; it has published annually large editions of a Liberty Almanack ; it has issued many other publications, and spread them over the country, including California and New Mexico ; it has maintained a depository for the sale of anti-slavery publications, and an anti-slavery reading-room, where all the anti-slavery newspapers in the country and European anti-slavery publications are kept on file for the gratuitous use of the public ; and the office agent of the Society has been for several years the efficient Treasurer of the Vigilance Committee. It may be said also, that three of the members of the Executive Committee raised funds and employed counsel for the Armistad Africans, and superintended their education and embarkation for their native country, after they had, by the instrumentalities employed by the Committee in charge, been declared free by the Supreme Court of the United States. It may also be said, in this connection, without egotism, that for several years, many of the Executive Committee have likewise been members of an ANTI-SLAVERY MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION that was formed by individuals sympathizing with the Society to which they belonged, that now has in its employ NINETY Missionaries and Teachers in Jamaica, among the emancipated people of colour, in Africa, among the Armistad Africans and their countrymen, in Siam, the Sandwich Islands, and in the western states of this country, including Kentucky, a slave-state, and the territory of New Mexico, all of whom are anti-slavery men and women, and are inculcating an anti-slavery gospel, and forming anti-slavery churches. But enough of this. It has been extorted by the accusations of opponents. I wish not to magnify the labours of the Committee, and leave to others to boast of their prowess and achievements.

REPLY TO MESSRS. THOMPSON AND WEBB.

Mr. WEBB remarks, as has been stated, facetiously enough, that the Society consists of "LEWIS TAPPAN and a few of his satellites;" and Mr. THOMPSON volunteers to furnish, if need be, an analysis of that Committee. He can tell who the gentlemen are, and where they reside, and can give your readers an insight into the Constitution of this Executive board. Wonderful! Judge JAY, one of the most talented and useful abolitionists in this country, who, by his pen and active labours, has performed a greater service to the cause than perhaps any other man, has long been an efficient member of the Executive Committee. *He* a satellite of LEWIS TAPPAN! The President of the Society is ARTHUR TAPPAN, who is also a member of the Executive Committee. He was the President of the American Anti-Slavery Society, from its beginning, until the disruption; and who declined accepting a re-appointment tendered to him by Mr. GARRISON'S party, after they had by a dexterous manœuvre, obtained a factitious majority, has not the reputation, where known, of being the satellite of any man. Dr. LE MOYNE, one of the Vice-Presidents, is one of the oldest and most respectable abolitionists in the country, and recently presided at the National Convention of Anti-Slavery Men at Cleveland, Ohio. I might mention Messrs. JOCELYN, LEAVITT, WHITING, WHIPPLE, BUFFUM, and other old and laborious abolitionists, who are members of the Committee, and influential men; but it will suffice to say, that the attempt of Messrs. WEBB and THOMPSON to mislead the British public on this subject, must be futile; as it is known in England, as well as this country, "who the gentlemen are," and what they are about. The attempt to magnify me at the expense of my fellow-labourers on the Committee, is sufficiently ludicrous; and the effort to disparage wise laborious and self-denying abolitionists, because they differ from Mr. GARRISON and his party, is, one would think, something like, to use the words of Mr. THOMPSON, a "fraud," and that a "wicked one."

Mr. WEBB, as previously stated, asserts that the *National Era* was not established by him, (LEWIS TAPPAN), or by the Society of which he is the *factotum*. The truthful gentleman proceeds to say, "this assumption of Mr. TAPPAN, is what Carlyle would call a sham." But the fact is, the *National Era* was established by the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and was conducted two years by the editor, Dr. BAILEY, under their control. Then it was deemed best, for various reasons, to sell the establishment to Dr. BAILEY, who is now sole proprietor. About 16,000 copies of this paper are issued weekly, being two or three times the number of

all the papers issued by Mr. GARRISON and his party. If the Committee had been so disposed they might have retained possession of the *Era*, made it the organ of the Society, included its receipts and expenditure in its annual account, as is done by the treasurer of Mr. GARRISON'S Society, with reference to their organ, the *Standard*. In this case, the receipts and expenditure of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Standard, would have greatly exceeded the receipts and expenditures of both Mr. GARRISON'S societies, and all the societies that fraternize with it, being, I think, three in number. In view of these facts, what would Mr. Carlyle call the statement of Mr. WEBB?

Mr. THOMPSON states, that the income of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, the principal auxiliary of Mr. GARRISON'S Society, is 900 dollars; and he intimates that the income of all the Societies that harmonize with Mr. GARRISON, independently of subscriptions to newspapers, is from 20,000 to 25,000 dollars; when it is well known that their income thus ascertained, if an aggregate were made of all its separate claims, would not exceed one-fourth of that sum.

Mr. WEBB is inquisitive to know the exact income and expenditure of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and fault is found in some other quarters by men of similar feelings, that the Society does not every year publish its receipts and expenditure. It is sufficient to say on this head, that the subscriptions, when received from persons not members of the Committee, are duly acknowledged by letter, and that the Committee have not thought it best to publish the names of subscribers, nor the particulars of their expenditure, in either the free or slave states. They do not hold themselves responsible to Mr. WEBB in this matter, nor to Mr. GARRISON'S party, who, if they left out of their annual account the receipts for newspapers, the proceeds of fairs, contributions from Great Britain and Ireland, would be able to present only a Flemish account. If Mr. WEBB will examine the proceedings of the last Annual Meeting of Mr. GARRISON'S Society, in the official organ of the Society, the *Standard*, he may find that the particulars of its receipts and expenditure were not given. The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society makes no appeal to British Abolitionists for "support," and therefore the intimation that it is held up to them by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and its achievements magnified for that purpose, is simply untrue.

Mr. THOMPSON complains that the Annual Report of the American and Foreign Society "does not record the actual proceedings of the Society during the year which it narrates, or any share that it had in the transactions which it narrates. If he had examined the Report more attentively, he could not well have made such a mis-statement.

But the Executive Committee are not so ambitious as to trumpet their own deeds, nor do they think their labours will be unnoticed or forgotten, should they fail to recount them at the end of the year. Besides, it was not the custom of the Committee, previous to the disruption of the Society, nor is it the practice of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to narrate particularly the acts of the Committee in their Annual Report.

AGENCY EMPLOYED BY THE PRESENT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF
THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, AND THEIR SENTIMENTS.

Mr. THOMPSON exultingly asks, in reference to the Society over which Mr. GARRISON presides, and which he contrasts with the American and Foreign Society, "Has it any agents or lecturers?" and then exclaims, "their name is legion." Afterwards he enumerates some eleven or twelve men and women, who, with others, he says, throughout the year are preaching the great truths of abolition, from the borders of New Brunswick to the Falls of Niagara, as far as the frontiers of civilization extend along the forests and prairies of the great west. I would not disparage the agents and lecturers of this Society, several of whom are highly gifted persons, and perform laborious services; but the whole number who devote the principal part of their time to Anti-Slavery does not exceed eleven or twelve. All of them, it is believed, are opposed to the constitution and union of the States, to the churches, to the ministry, to the sanctity of the Lord's-day; and most of them, if not all, to the inspiration of the Scriptures. The following extract of a letter, dated Steamer, Lancaster, August 26, 1851, from HENRY C. WRIGHT, formerly an orthodox preacher, and now one of the most zealous adherents of Mr. GARRISON'S Society, will show the views and spirit of this school of Abolitionists, in relation to Civil Government. The letter is headed as follows:—"Righteous Civil Government; or, Righteous Robbery and Murder." The letter concludes in the following terms:

"I entirely agree with you in your views that all Civil Governments must necessarily produce just the results you ascribe to them, whenever they attempt to interfere with the education, the religion, or with the physical, intellectual, social, and moral development of human beings; but my conclusion is, that it is owing to the fact that the *existence of such an institution is*, like the institution of Slavery or Piracy, *essentially and eternally opposed to morality, to justice and equity, to the laws of God written on the bodies and souls of men.*"

The *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, of September 20th, 1851, a paper fully sympathizing with the American Anti-Slavery Society, after mentioning with approval the address of Miss Sallie Holly, at Salem, Ohio,

says, "The characteristic presented of Christianity, unchristianized the church and the ministry."

In the same paper, there is a Letter from a Correspondent headed "Notes from the Lecturing Field," in which the writer says of Abolitionism in Ohio, "Carrollton is cursed by politics, and doubly cursed by religion, of, I don't know how many different kinds."

In the *Bugle* of October 14th, 1851, is a letter from J. P. DAVIS, a correspondent of the paper, who, after noticing with approbation, the lectures of HENRY C. WRIGHT, and others, concludes by saying, "Yours for all that will elevate man physically, socially and intellectually, not caring a fig whether it be termed toryism, infidelity, or atheism."

H. C. WRIGHT in a letter to the Editor of the *Bugle*, published in that paper of October 4, 1851, gives an account of a man who attended a Camp Meeting and afterwards joined the Church, says, "He became a Christian and was taken into the Church, the great sanctuary of such persons, where crime is made respectable, and pollution is sanctified by prayer." In concluding the letter, Mr. WRIGHT says, "Lawyers, priests, and doctors, make any town Pro-Slavery."

Mr. GARRISON in his *Liberator*, of Oct. 24th, 1851, thus re-announces the appearance of a preacher in Boston, distinguished for his talents and his infidelity:—

"THEODORE PARKER NEXT SUNDAY. Thousands in this city and vicinity, will be more than rejoiced to learn, that after so long an interim, Mr. PARKER will resume his regular preaching in the Melodeon (now handsomely refitted), on Sunday forenoon next at the usual time. There will be hungry appetites and a crowded house on the occasion."

In the same paper, under the head "REFORMATORY," is an extract of the length of more than two columns, from Discourses and Essays on Theological and Speculative Topics, by the Rev. STEPHEN FARLEY, in which are the following sentences:—

"But if the omniscient God had indicted their documents (alluding to the penmen of the Scriptures), we should have had but one, and that a perfect history of them,"—alluding to the account of the Kings of the Old Testament. "The very part itself of two histories of the same time and people, is proof that neither of them is a product of Divine and plenary inspiration." In another place, the author says, "the imperfections of the Evangelical histories are apparent to all readers of the New Testament." Again, he says, we are to consider "the accounts of the particular manifestations (of the Saviour after his resurrection), and of the bodily ascension, as doubtful." Again, "Scripture cannot be Divine revelation. . . . The

different portions of this volume were not written for general use in all future time, but for particular occasions. . . . The Jewish prophets wrote what are called their prophecies on local and temporary emergencies, without the thought of contributing a chapter or a book to the formation of a Bible."

Such is the "Theology" selected by Mr. GARRISON, and published in this paper for the edification of his Anti-Slavery readers! With regard to the extracts from the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, the writers may say that in alluding to the ministry and the "church" and religion, they only allude to the pro-slavery part of both, and to the pro-slavery religion prevalent, but such language applied as it is to the ministry and churches, and to religion, without naming the individuals to whom it applies, or without any reservation, is justly offensive to the great body of the moral and Christian people of the country. When Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON was last in this country, he justly offended the same classes by speeches full of indiscriminate abuse of the political and religious portions of the community. He has boasted, since his return to England, I learn, that he won the freedom of speech in all America, or something to that effect, as if freedom of speech did not now prevail in every part of the Free States, in the city of New York and elsewhere, to all who do not needlessly outrage public feeling. He and others may say, with reference to what has been said of him in this letter, that many persons who do not belong to Mr. GARRISON's party attended his meetings, welcomed his appearance among them, and applauded his sentiments. Mr. GERRIT SMITH, for example, who did attend a meeting at Syracuse, in the State of New York, to welcome both Mr. THOMPSON and Mr. GARRISON to that part of the country. But this gentleman found, before the meeting was over, that he had mistaken its character, and declined taking a part in it. On another occasion, not quite two years since, Mr. PARKER PILLSBURY, a zealous lecturer and agent of the GARRISON party, in an address at one of its meetings to which members of the Liberty party were specially invited, said, in effect "the American Anti-Slavery Society, (of which Mr. GARRISON is president) is in heaven; and the Liberty party (of which Mr. GERRIT SMITH is the principal member), is in hell." Mr. SMITH immediately rose and said, "This may be eloquent declamation, but it is a most impudent speech."

These extracts are given as late specimens of the mode in which the proceedings of Mr. GARRISON's party are advocated and carried on. Innumerable quotations might be given, covering a period of years, to show the objectionable principle and offensive spirit in which its affairs are conducted.

Is it strange that the great mass of the Christian people of this country, and the moral strength of the nation, put no confidence in such doctrines, such lectures, and such newspapers? Is it singular that they bring reproach on the sacred cause of abolition, obstruct its progress, and so inflame and prejudice the public mind, that abolitionism is with very many synonymous with infidelity and anarchy? Is it remarkable that persons of such views feel jealous and inimical towards those who aim to advance the Anti-Slavery cause in a Christian manner?"

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON'S AND MR. WEBB'S STATEMENTS
FURTHER EXAMINED.

MR. GARRISON states, without a shadow of evidence, and MR. THOMPSON says, with regard to the assertion, and all the statements of MR. GARRISON referred to in this letter, "these statements of Mr. G. I affirm from my knowledge of the origin and history of the pretended Society, are correct,—that the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is the offspring of baffled priestcraft, and vanquished sectarianism. And you, Mr. Editor, in speaking of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, say, 'it cautiously avoids all collision with the religious bodies of America which uphold the system of slavery.'" So far from either of these assertions being true, it is well known to every fair-minded observer of events, in this country, from the commencement of the American and Foreign Society, that it was not founded by clerical men, nor has been sustained by them; that it has not been under the influence of political or religious parties, that it is in no respect sectarian; that it has upheld the original principles of the abolition party in this country, and that it is and has been sustained by laymen and ministers of the gospel of nearly all the evangelical denominations. The history of the Society, its annual reports, its resolutions, published in the *Liberator* and the *Standard*, place this beyond a doubt. Its controversy has been, first, with slave-holders and their abettors, and next with the ecclesiastical bodies of the Northern States, for their apathy and pro-slaveryism. This has brought it into constant collision with "the religious bodies of America." You see then, Mr. Editor, how grossly you have been imposed upon by those who have misrepresented the principles and action of the American and Foreign Society; how base is the statement made by our enemies here in England, and how untrue are the assertions of Mr. THOMPSON, that "there is in the United States of America but one efficient and uncompromising Anti-Slavery Society, which has Mr. GARRISON for its President;" and, that it is the only Anti-Slavery Association in the United States that is what it pro-

fesses to be, an association for the deliverance of the slave from his bonds.

To any persons, except those who idolize Mr. GARRISON, and belong to his party, which is inconsiderable in numbers, resources or influence, it is amusing to read the fervid declamation of his coadjutor, Mr. THOMPSON, who, with Mr. GARRISON, belongs to what has been aptly called, "The Mutual Admiration Society," when he says, speaking of Mr. G., "than whom no man stands higher in Boston.—The inexorable truthfulness of the Society (Mr. GARRISON'S,) has been the salvation of the slaves' cause in America, and it is now the salt that saves the mass from utter corruption.—Great and purifying Association—it elevates and moulds, more or less, the anti-slavery views of every other paper in the Union."

Mr. WEBB'S statements are still more amusing, and will cause many, even of the party eulogised, to wonder at the gullibility of those who so eagerly credit the marvellous, especially when it comes beyond the seas. "The illustrious American Anti-Slavery Society," which "is fast shaking American slavery to its foundations."—"The chief instrumentality for the overthrow of American slavery.—The large laborious and efficient body."—"It includes a large majority of the earliest, ablest, most eloquent, most accomplished, and devoted Abolitionists." "The only real Society for the Abolition of Slavery." "*Their only object is, and ever has been, the overthrow of American Slavery.*" Spirit of Munchausen!

The British public will have a pretty fair estimate of the spirit manifested, and the success attending the labours of the GARRISON party in this country, when they compare it with the spirit and success of the same party at the Hall of Commerce, and elsewhere in England. In view of such efforts, and the extravagant terms in which they are reported by themselves, how appropriate to them is the language so absurdly applied by Mr. WEBB to the American and Foreign Society in this country,—"*unreal and inflated pretensions*"—they deceive the unwary—"divert their contributions."

DEPARTURE OF THE PRESENT ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY FROM ITS ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION.

But a graver and more important matter remains to be considered, affecting not only Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON'S truthfulness, but the integrity of Mr. GARRISON'S Society. In his speech at Bristol, Mr. T., said of that society—which he and Mr. GARRISON claim to be the original American Anti-Slavery Society: "A Society founded in 1833, and ever since distinguished above all other philanthropic bodies for the simplicity of its object, the purity of its principles, *its stern*

fidelity to its original declarations, its vital and untiring energy, and its marvellous success in renovating the public sentiment of the country." Stern fidelity to its original declarations! What were they? In the declaration of sentiments by the Anti-Slavery Convention assembled in Philadelphia, December 4th, 1833, to form the original American Anti-Slavery Society, the first draft of which was written by Mr. GARRISON, are the following clauses; "We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the Free States, to remove slavery by moral and *political* action, as prescribed in the constitution of the United States. We shall enlist the *pulpit* and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb . . . We shall aim at a *purification of the churches*, from all participation in the guilt of slavery . . . We shall encourage the labour of freemen rather than that of the slaves, by giving a preference to their productions . . . We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance . . . Our trust for victory is solely in God. TRUTH, JUSTICE, REASON, HUMANITY, must and will gloriously triumph."

Such were the patriotic and pious purposes of the founders of the Society, of which Mr. GARRISON and his party now claim to be the exponents. RELIGIOUS and POLITICAL action, in the spirit of the Gospel, were the means, under God, to be used for bringing about national repentance and the emancipation of the slave. Which Society now proves itself to be the legitimate successors of the original National American Society? Mr. GARRISON's party have seized upon the name, they have, to use Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON's phrase, "what is called" the American Anti-Slavery Society; but which has the thing signified thereby? That is the question. Let us see. Mr. GARRISON and his party now repudiate political action—they affect to trample under feet the constitution of the United States—instead of aiming to enlist the pulpit in the cause of the suffering and the dumb, and the purification of the churches, they boldly make war upon the ministry and the churches of the land—instead of encouraging the sole use of free-labour produce, they refuse to advocate this instrumentality—instead of aiming to win the nation to speedy repentance, they exasperate the community, repel the great body of the considerate, moral and religious, and needlessly provoke the opposition and violence of the reckless and ungodly—instead of putting their trust in God for victory, they impugn His revelation, trample upon the Sabbath, decry the institutions of Christianity, rail at ministers of the Gospel and churches as a body—in a word they are the destructives of the age, furious in breaking down, but at no pains to build up.

ADHERENCE OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY
TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY.

On the other hand the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society adopt and maintain the original principles of the first National Society, and promulgate the views of its founders in the spirit with which they were adopted, according to the means and ability possessed by them. If they have separated it is only in name, while their opponents have seceded in principle, spirit, and practice. It is true that the Society with which I am connected does not employ the same kind of instrumentalities to the same extent as formerly, and a sufficient reason is, that it is using another class of measures that it deems under present circumstances more useful, especially, than the employment of lecturers. Christian Anti-Slavery Conventions are held, from time to time, in different parts of the country, by those who sympathize with the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and Free Soil Meetings, composed of persons opposed to the continuance of slavery as well as those who go only for the non-extension, are numerous attended. The Corresponding Secretary of the American and Foreign Society attends these meetings, as do other Members of the Executive Committee, and it is well known that the various Anti-Slavery Meetings held by those who differ from the GARRISON party, greatly exceed the numbers attending, and outweigh in interest, importance, and usefulness, the meetings held by them, the proceedings of which are so ostentatiously paraded before the public.

ALLEGED CAUSES OF DISUNION.

The GARRISON party in this country accuse those who withdrew from the meeting, in 1840, of withdrawing—or “seceding,” as they wrongfully term it—because women were allowed to speak, vote, be on committees, &c. And Mr. WEBB, with chivalric spirit wholly uncalled for, undertakes to vindicate the sex, and very properly claims for them the exercise of the right to advocate the cause of the slave. It was not the fact that women attended anti-slavery meetings, and that they, in a proper manner, advocated the cause of the slave, that so large a portion of the true friends of the slave abandoned the disorganizing party, and formed a new society to maintain the original principles of the abolitionist body in the country; but it was, for causes already stated, in connection with the fact that women, in large numbers from certain localities, were solicited to attend the meetings to outvote the men, and that some of them conducted themselves in a manner unusual and improper. The GARRISON party seemed deter-

mined to introduce upon the anti-slavery platform the question of woman's rights, as it is technically called, and to make anti-slavery meetings a theatre for the settlement of this question. It was resisted, and very properly. Those who objected to it were, however, quite willing that women should attend the meetings and vote, and have all the privileges that are accorded to women at Friends' meetings, and even greater privileges. Who ever heard that at *meetings of business*, in the Society of Friends, women attended in throngs to outvote the men, undertook to harangue an excited assembly, standing on the seats, and by their gesticulations and voices swelling the tumult that had been created? The apostle said, "I suffer not a woman to . . . usurp authority over the man." Those who withdrew from the meeting were also unwilling to suffer it; but this was a minor question, though it has been adroitly used by the GARRISON party to prejudice a portion of the community against those who, for more important reasons, refused to act any longer with the disorganizers.

QUESTION OF AUXILIARY ASSOCIATIONS.

It is charged that the American and Foreign Society has no auxiliaries. This is true. How many has Mr. GARRISON'S Society? But three or four. Time was when auxiliary societies were deemed an important instrumentality. It is not so now. Abolitionists are so numerous throughout the country, that they can operate more effectually in independent societies. Besides Anti-Slavery Societies are not so popular as they once were. Conventions have superseded them in a great measure. The same may be said of lecturing agents. I know of nothing that has tended so powerfully to bring Anti-Slavery Societies and lecturing agents into disesteem as the conduct of Mr. GARRISON and his party. The reasons have been previously stated, and not a few of the original, true-hearted and Christian Abolitionists of the land, mourn over the direful results of a course of proceedings that has unnecessarily inflamed the minds, shut the ears, and excited the animosity of such large portions of the community against anti-slavery doctrines and measures. So great is the prejudice thus inconsiderately and wantonly excited, that the opinion is fast gaining ground, that Mr. GARRISON and his party have done a vast deal more hurt than good to the cause of holy freedom; and many are expressing the opinion that Anti-Slavery Societies have performed their mission, and must give way to other instrumentalities for the deliverance of the country from slavery.

The GARRISON party seem to be much chagrined that their proceedings are not noticed in the Annual Reports of the American and

Foreign Society. Mr. WEBB says, the latter Society do their utmost to ignore the American Anti-Slavery Society, which has never resorted, like these worthy compeers, to underhand, calumnious, or disreputable means for the attainment of its objects. And Mr. THOMPSON remarks, that the Annual Report of 1851 is wickedly silent respecting the labours and success of the real Anti-Slavery Society. How silence tends to ignore a Society is not explained. In reply, however, to such accusations, it may be said, neither Mr. GARRISON, his *Liberator*, nor his party, ever or seldom notice the American and Foreign Society, except affectedly to sneer at it. Witness his assertions already quoted and commented upon, whose echo is found in the speech of Mr. THOMPSON and the printed letter of Mr. WEBB. Such aspersions one would think savour much of what is "underhand, calumnious, or disreputable." But the principal reason why the movements of Mr. GARRISON'S party in this country have not been noticed in the Reports of the American and Foreign Society, and in the principal Anti-Slavery newspapers of this country, is, that they are considered to be in general so violent, acrimonious, hurtful and unchristian, as to be distasteful to the best part of the community, and injurious to the cause of emancipation.

Thus I have endeavoured to place the facts, in relation to those who originated and have sustained the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in a light that will be understood by the Abolitionists of Great Britain, and to show what sort of persons they are who pretend to be, *par excellence*, the Abolitionists of the United States of America. It has been a painful duty, but one that seemed to be demanded by the accusations of opponents. To the good sense and Christian feelings of the friends of the slave it is submitted.

LEWIS TAPPAN.

NEW YORK, November, 1851.

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